7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *fiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held
642 for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
565 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
[614] (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.